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SUBJ: Guidance for May 20 Sino-US Ambassadorial Meeting

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1. It is the US side's turn to open. Relatively brief opening statement concentrates on progress made thus far, particularly suggestion of higher level meeting. We will ask for PRC reconfirmation of proposal for higher level meeting in Peking in opening statement. Providing such confirmation given in Lei Yang response you may use guidance in para 13 below on this subject. We do not plan to raise Southeast Asia in any detail in hope we can continue to limit talks to bilateral issues and avoid sterile polemics, but PRC may well take initiatives to attack us on this point. Contingency guidance will be provided SepTel. Text of your opening statement follows:

BEGIN QUOTE: Mr. Charge d'Affaires, today marks the third meeting between our two Governments since these ambassadorial-

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EA/ACA: DMAnderson PHK

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The Secretary

CLEARANCES:

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White House -

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level talks were resumed on January 20. My Government noted with satisfaction that, during our first two meetings, there emerged a number of points on which our two sides appeared to be in agreement in principle. For example, we both clearly expressed our mutual desire to improve relations, to reduce tensions and to avoid war. I am convinced that, providing we keep these basic mutual goals firmly in mind, it should be possible to make further progress.

3. My Government particularly noted your Government's willingness to enter into negotiations with the United States to discuss the question of relaxing tensions in the Far East. It was in that spirit that President Nixon addressed his letter of April 7 to Premier Chou En-Lai proposing consultations under Article IV of the Geneva Agreement^{on Laos}. This, of course, continues to be a matter of great interest and concern to my Government, and I would be most interested in hearing a further elaboration of your Government's views and any specific proposals your

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Government may wish to set forth on this subject either at our meetings here or through separate correspondence between your Government and mine.

Higher Level Meeting

4. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, as you will recall, both of our Governments at our meeting on January 20 discussed the possibility of a higher-level meeting, and I indicated that my Government would consider sending a representative to Peking or receiving your representative in Washington should progress in these conversations indicate that such a meeting would be useful. At our meeting on February 20 you indicated your Government's willingness to receive in Peking a representative of ministerial rank or a special envoy of the President for further discussion of issues between our two Governments.

5. Since our last meeting, three months have elapsed. I would hope that in your statement today you would be prepared to indicate whether your February 20 proposal

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on a higher-level meeting remains the position of your Government. After hearing your statement, I may have further comments to make regarding my Government's views concerning a higher level meeting. (FYI: Contingency guidance for further discussion of higher level meeting provided paras 10 to 23 END FYI.)

"Two Chinas" Issue

6. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, in your statement of January 20 and again at our meeting on February 20 you stated that my Government is attempting to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" and that the Chinese people could never accept this. I believe that my statements here at this meeting have made it clear that the United States has no intention of attempting to impose any sort of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" solution to this problem. What form the resolution of this question will take, I am sure you will agree, is a matter for those parties directly involved to determine. Pending such a settlement, the

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position of my Government toward the Government in Taipei remains that which I have stated at our last two meetings. We both understand that the question of Taiwan is a most complicated problem in relations between our two countries. At our meeting on February 20 you indicated that your Government felt that it was necessary to make every effort to create conditions which would enable us to deal with this question. The United States is also prepared to do what it can to facilitate an improvement in relations and to create the conditions for this. For example, as I noted at our February 20 meeting, the US is prepared gradually to reduce its limited military presence on Taiwan as tensions in the Far East and the Taiwan area diminish.

7. I would like to emphasize the seriousness of the United States in these discussions, but I would also like to emphasize our firm belief that matters other than Taiwan can and should be discussed here. This is not, as you said at our last meeting, confusing primary and secondary issues.

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It is consistent with our view that if progress is to be made in improving relations as we hope, we must both be prepared to discuss all of the bilateral questions between our two Governments.

8. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, as I indicated at our last meeting on February 20, my Government welcomes your statement that you are willing to continue the past practice of permitting Americans imprisoned in China to receive parcels and mail and have visits by members of their family. I understand that the brother of Major Philip Smith has already applied for permission to visit him. I hope that early permission will be granted. However, I must again point out that your statement on this subject does not actually carry us beyond the point already reached during the early stages of these meetings, and I would like to urge you again to give serious consideration to the suggestions which I made on this subject at our last meeting. While those actions which I have suggested are humanitarian in

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nature, frankly speaking they would be viewed by my Government as having political importance as well and would be one way to begin to create the conditions for a general improvement in relations between our two Governments.

Conclusion

9. In conclusion, Mr. Charge d'Affaires, I look forward to hearing your views today on these questions of mutual interest to our two Governments, in particular, your Government's attitude on the question of a higher level meeting in Peking. END QUOTE

10. FYI: If Lei Yang does not reply to your request for confirmation of Chinese invitation to send a higher level delegation to Peking made at the February 20 meeting, you should state:

11. BEGIN QUOTE: Mr. Charge d'Affaires, I note that you did not respond to my inquiry as to whether your statement on February 20 on a higher-level meeting remains your Government's position.

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I will, therefore,

only note my regret and indicate that we will be prepared to consider this issue at another time. END QUOTE.

12. FYI: If, however, the invitation is renewed, you should then present the following statement:

13. BEGIN QUOTE: Mr. Charge d'Affaires, my Government joins with yours in believing that a meeting at a higher-level might contribute to an easing of tensions and to laying the groundwork for an improvement in relations between our two countries. I have, therefore, been instructed to begin today to discuss the necessary preparations for such a meeting.

14. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, my Government feels that in order to insure the success of a higher-level meeting, we both should have a clear idea of the framework and parameters of such a meeting. We feel that there are six basic principles which might serve as a basis for substantive progress at a higher-level meeting between

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representatives of our two Governments. They focus on those areas where we seem, I believe, essentially in agreement rather than on those issues where we are further apart. It is on the former that I believe we should concentrate our attention. I would like now to describe these, and I would welcome your comments on them either today or at our next meeting.

15. First, the question of Taiwan and its relationship with the mainland of China is one to be decided by those parties directly concerned, but the solution of any disputes in this area should be by peaceful means without resort to the threat or use of force. In my Government's view, agreement on this principle would be of great significance to an overall improvement in relations between our two countries. It is our belief that the dangers of armed conflict, the possibility that such conflict might become enlarged, and the interests of the people in the area require that settlement of disputes in the area be arrived at by peaceful means.

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16. Second, the United States will not interfere with any peaceful settlement which the parties directly involved may reach. It is not the intention of the USG to attempt to determine the relationship between Taiwan and the mainland of China.

17. Third, it is in the interest of the US and the People's Republic of China to explore ways in which tensions in the entire Far East area, including the Taiwan area, can be reduced. Progress on the first two principles which I have noted would naturally facilitate this.

18. Fourth, the United States and the People's Republic of China should agree to resolve all disputes between them through peaceful negotiations. At our meeting on February 20 you indicated that your Government shared this view and so it would appear that we should have no difficulty in reaching agreement on this point.

19. Fifth, it is desirable and in the interests of the

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people of both countries to expand mutual contacts and trade. My Government has already taken a number of steps to enable this development to take place.

20. Sixth, the foregoing principles are in accord with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the representatives of our two Governments, either here or at a higher-level meeting, should further explore the possibility of issuing a joint declaration affirming our adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Modalities for a Higher-Level Meeting

21. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, there are also certain modalities involved in a higher-level meeting in Peking which I believe we might usefully begin to explore. These include the size of our delegation, the duration of the meeting, and a clear understanding on the status and immunities which the United States delegation would enjoy while in China. We are now prepared to discuss these modalities. On the specific question of privileges

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and immunities, we have prepared a draft agreed minute which, with its Annex, we feel would adequately satisfy our concerns on this matter. I will provide a copy to you at the conclusion of our meeting today.

22. I would welcome your views on the possible timing of a higher-level meeting. In general, we would consider this meeting as exploratory, and believe it should not exceed two or three weeks in length. Further discussions in Washington and Peking would await the results of the initial meetings.

23. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, I would welcome any comments you may have on the six principles which I have just discussed or on my suggestions concerning the modalities for a higher level meeting. END QUOTE

24. FYI: Although we do not wish to raise the question of the Chinese satellite in the formal meeting, we do think it would be useful and appropriate for you, at the close of the meeting, to offer low-key expression of

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appreciation of Chinese achievement and indicate that the United States has consistently favored the peaceful exploration of outer space.

25. Kreisberg and Anderson will join you for the meeting and will provide text of agreed minute and annex mentioned in para 21.

END

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